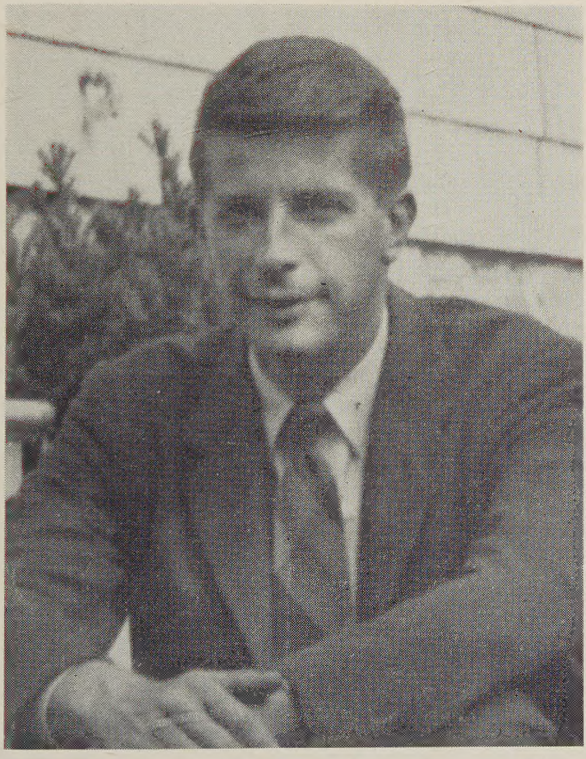
February 1957

Fellowship



WALLACE HAMILTON — *Gandhian*

30¢

Toward Racial Equality

Articles by Martin Luther King & Lillian Smith

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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Middle East

The Eisenhower proposal to be prepared to intervene militarily in the Middle East puts things back in their familiar routine. There was something unique and uncalculated about the atttitude of the United States toward the invasion of Egypt by Britain, France and Israel. For just a moment there seemed almost to be an element of genuine morality, an assertion that wrong was wrong even when your friends did it.

The moment has passed, apparently. We're prepared once more to deal with things in a straightforward military fashion. All the troubles are caused by the Communists, and they can be dealt with by warning the Communists off. It's a good, solid, sensible stand if you can ignore the roaring beneath your feet, the crumbling edges that mark the broadening of the chasm.

Push-Button—I

Pentagon chaps keep reassuring everybody that "push-button war" is still years away, but did anybody notice that when that guided missile went astray off Florida they looked for it in Brazil, 3,000 miles away? How much more does it need to be an intercontinental missile?

Push-Button—II

Iron Age, which modestly affirms itself to be the "authoritative voice of the metal-working industries," said recently that one of

the greatest hazards of "this era of push-button war" is how to keep some eager beaver from pushing the wrong button. *Iron Age* continues:

"For example: An electrical storm or sunspots could give the impression through radar of an attack by enemy guided missiles. A nervous operator, misreading the spots, would pass the word on to higher headquarters, causing U.S. Missile commands to retaliate with intercontinental atomic missiles.

"Experts agree that half the planet could be destroyed before anybody discovered that it was all a mistake."*

The idea is not new. See "Pilot Lights of the Apocalypse," by Dr. Louis N. Ridenour in FELLOWSHIP, July 1946.

Marginal Notes

Member wrote to say sorry FOR disintegrating, as shown by closing regional offices. FOR not disintegrating, just getting less lopsided. Only thing you can run indefinitely on unbalanced budget is government. FOR no government.

FOR witness rarely more vigorous, never more relevant. Efforts in South very significant, though little publicized. Work for free speech significant and more publicized. Anti-militarist interpretation and education indispensable in society corrupted by military thinking that's become extinct but doesn't know enough to lie down.

• • •

Man wrote to tell us why Christmas cards didn't sell this year. Sales biggest yet, topping 320,000.

• • •

Lady from Pittsburgh wrote she wanted to use FOR Christmas cards but was afraid to because a columnist had said FOR was communist. Looked up column. Columnist didn't say FOR communist, simply gave such a distorted account of Carnegie Hall meeting last May, and motives behind it, as to make any other inference impossible. Wrote columnist. No reply. No surprise.

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* *Iron Age*, August 30, 1956 issue

FACING THE CHALLENGE OF A NEW AGE

BY THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

WE WHO live in the twentieth century are privileged to live in one of the most momentous periods of human history. It is an exciting age, filled with hope. It is an age in which a new social order is being born. We stand today between two worlds—the dying old and the emerging new.

Now I am aware of the fact that there are those who would contend that we live in the most ghastly period of human history. They would argue that the rhythmic beat of the deep rumblings of discontent from Asia, the uprisings in Africa, the nationalistic longings of Egypt, the roaring cannons from Hungary, and the racial tensions of America are all indicative of the deep and tragic midnight which encompasses our civilization. They would argue that we are retrogressing instead of progressing. But far from representing retrogression and tragic meaninglessness, the present tensions represent the necessary pains that accompany the birth of anything new. Long ago the Greek philosopher Heraclitus argued that

* Adapted from Dr. King's Annual Address, delivered at the First Annual Institute on Nonviolence and Social Change under the auspices of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., December 3, 1956.

justice emerges from the strife of opposites, and through struggle. It is both historically and biologically true that there can be no birth and growth without birth pains and growing pains. Whenever there is the emergence of the new, we confront the recalcitrance of the old. So the tensions which we witness in the world today are indicative of the fact that a new world order is being born and an old order is passing away.

We are all familiar with the old order that is passing away. We have lived with it for many years. We have seen it in its international aspect, in the form of colonialism and imperialism. There are approximately 2,400,000,000 people in this world, and the vast majority —about 1,600,000,000 of the people of the world—are colored. Fifty years ago, or even twenty-five years ago, most of the latter lived under the yoke of some foreign power. We could turn our eyes to China and see there six hundred million men and women under the pressing yoke of British, Dutch, and French rule. We could turn our eyes to Indonesia and see a hundred million men and women under the domination of the Dutch. We could turn to India and Pakistan and notice four hundred million brown men and women under the pressing yoke of the British. We could turn our eyes to Africa and notice there two hundred million black men and women under the pressing yoke of the British, the Belgians, the Portugese and the French. For years all of these people were dominated politically, exploited economically, segregated and humiliated.

But there comes a time when people get tired. There comes a time when people get tired of being trampled over by the iron feet of oppression. There comes a time when people get tired of being plunged across the abyss of exploitation where they experience the bleakness of nagging despair. There comes a time when people get tired of being pushed out of the glittering sunlight of life's July and left standing in the piercing chill of an Alpine November. So in the midst of their tiredness these people decided to rise up and protest against injustice. As a result of their protest, more than 1,300,000,000 of the colored peoples of the world are free today. They have their own governments, their own economic systems, and their own educational systems. To paraphrase Biblical history, they have broken loose from the Egypt of colonialism and imperialism, and they are now moving through the wilderness of adjustment toward the promised land of cultural integration. As they look back they see the old order of colonialism and imperialism passing away and the new order of freedom and justice coming into being.

The Old Order in America

We have also seen the old order in our own nation, in the form of segregation and discrimination. We know something of the long history of this old order in America. It had its beginning in the year 1619 when the first Negro slaves landed on the shores of this nation. They were brought here from the soils of Africa. And unlike the Pilgrim Fathers who landed at Plymouth a year later, they were brought here against their wills. Throughout slavery the Negro was treated in a very inhuman fashion. He was a thing to be used, not a person to be respected. He was merely a de-

personalized cog in a vast plantation machine. The famous Dred Scott Decision of 1857 well illustrates the status of the Negro during slavery. In this decision the Supreme Court of the United States said, in substance, that the Negro is not a citizen of the United States; he is merely property subject to the dictates of his owner. Then came 1896. It was in this year that the Supreme Court of this nation, through the Plessy *v.* Ferguson Decision, established the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" as the law of the land. Through this decision, segregation gained legal and moral sanction. The end result of the Plessy Doctrine was that it led to a strict enforcement of the "separate," with hardly the slightest attempt to abide by the "equal." So the Plessy Doctrine ended up making for tragic inequalities and ungodly exploitation.

Living under these conditions, many Negroes came to the point of losing faith in themselves. They came to feel that perhaps they *were* less than human. The great tragedy of physical slavery was that it led to the paralysis of mental slavery. So long as the Negro maintained this subservient attitude and accepted this "place" assigned to him, a sort of racial peace existed. But it was an uneasy peace in which the Negro was forced patiently to accept insult, injustice and exploitation. It was a negative peace. True peace is not merely the absence of some negative force—tension, confusion, or war; it is the presence of some positive force—justice, good will and brotherhood. And so the peace which presently existed between the races was a negative peace devoid of any positive and lasting quality.

Then something happened to the Negro. Circumstances made it necessary for him to travel more. His rural plantation background was gradually being supplanted by migration to urban and industrial communities. His economic life was gradually rising to decisive proportions. His cultural life was gradually rising through the steady decline of crippling illiteracy. All of these factors conjoined to cause the Negro to take a new look at himself. Negro masses began to reevaluate themselves. The Negro came to feel that he was somebody. His religion revealed to him that God loves all of his children, and that every man, from a bass black to a treble white, is significant on God's keyboard.

With this new self-respect, this new sense of dignity on the part of the Negro, the South's negative peace was rapidly undermined. And so the tension which we are witnessing in race relations today can be explained, in part, by the

revolutionary change in the Negro's evaluation of himself, and his determination to struggle and sacrifice until the walls of segregation have finally been crushed by the battering rams of surging justice.

Along with the emergence of a "new Negro," with a new sense of dignity and destiny, came that memorable decision of May 17, 1954. In this decision the Supreme Court of this nation unanimously affirmed that the old Plessy Doctrine must go. This decision came as a legal and sociological death blow to an evil that had occupied the throne of American life for several decades. It affirmed in no uncertain terms that separate facilities are inherently unequal and that to segregate a child because of his race is to deny him equal protection of the law. With the coming of this great decision, we could gradually see the old order of segregation and discrimination passing away, and the new order of freedom and justice taking shape.

Let nobody fool you—all of the loud noises that you hear today from the legislative halls of the South about "interposition" and "nullification," and about outlawing the NAACP, are merely the death groans of a dying system. The old order is passing away, and the new order is coming into being. We are witnessing in our day the birth of a new age, with a new structure of freedom and justice.

Now as we face the fact of this new emerging world, we must face the responsibilities that come along with it. A new age brings with it new challenges. Let us consider some of the challenges of this new age.

First we are challenged to rise above the narrow confines of our individualistic concerns to the broader concerns of all humanity. The new world is a world of geographical togetherness. This means that no individual or nation can live alone. We must all learn to live together, or we will be forced to die together. This new world of geographical togetherness has been brought about, to a great extent, by man's scientific and technological genius. Man, through his scientific genius, has been able to dwarf distance and place time in chains; he has been able to carve highways through the stratosphere. Our world is geographically one. Now we are faced with the challenge of making it *spiritually* one. Through our scientific genius we have made of the world a neighborhood; now through our moral and spiritual genius we must make of it a brotherhood. We are all involved in the single process. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. We are all links in the great chain of humanity.

A Challenge to Excellence

A second challenge that the new age brings to each of us is that of achieving excellence in our various fields of endeavor. In the new age many doors will be opening to us that were not open in the past, and the great challenge which we confront is to be prepared to enter these doors as they open. In an essay written back in 1871, Ralph Waldo Emerson said: "If a man can write a better book, or preach a better sermon, or make a better mousetrap than his neighbor, even if he builds his house in the woods, the world will make a beaten path to his door." In the years to come this will be increasingly true.

In the new age, we Negroes will be forced to compete with people

of all races and nationalities. Therefore, we cannot aim merely to be good Negro teachers, good

Negro doctors, good Negro ministers, good Negro skilled laborers. We must set out to do a good job, irrespective of race, and do it so well that nobody could do it better.

Nonviolence is Crucial

A third challenge that stands before us is that of entering the new age with understanding good will. This simply means that the Christian virtues of love, mercy and forgiveness should stand at the center of our lives. There is the danger that those of us who have lived so long under the yoke of oppression, those of us who have been exploited and trampled over, those of us who have had to stand amid the tragic midnight of injustice and indignities will enter the new age with hate and bitterness. But if we retaliate with hate and bitterness, the new age will be nothing but a duplication of the old age. We must blot out the hate and injustice of the old age with the love and justice of the new. This is why I believe so firmly in nonviolence. Violence never solves problems. It only creates new and more complicated ones. If we succumb to the temptation of using violence in our struggle for justice, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness, and our chief legacy to the future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos.

We have before us the glorious opportunity to inject a new dimension of love into the veins of our civilization. There is still a voice crying out in words that echo across the generations, saying: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you, that you may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven." This love may well be the salvation of our civilization. This is why I am so impressed with our motto for the week, "Freedom and Justice through Love." Not through violence; not through hate; no, not even through boycotts; but through *love*. It is true that as we struggle for freedom in America we will have to boycott at times. But we must remember, as we do so, that a boycott is not an end itself; it is merely a means to awaken a sense of shame within the oppressor and challenge his false sense of superiority. But the end is reconciliation; the end is redemption; the end is the creation of the beloved community. It is this type of spirit and this type of love that can transform opposers into friends. It is this type of understanding good will that will transform the deep gloom of the old age into the exuberant gladness of the new age. It is this love which will bring about miracles in the hearts of men.

Now I realize that in talking so much about "love" it is very easy to become sentimental. There is the danger that our talk about love will merely be empty words devoid of any practical and true meaning. But when I say "love those who

oppose you," I am not speaking of love in a sentimental or affectionate sense. It would be nonsense to urge men to love their oppressors in an affectionate sense. When I refer to love in this context I mean understanding good will. The Greek language comes to our aid at this point. It has three words for love. First it speaks of love in terms of *eros.* Plato used this word quite frequently in his dialogues. *Eros* is a type of esthetic or romantic love. And then there is *Philia,* a sort of intimate affection between personal friends. On this level a person loves because he is loved.

Divine Love

The highest level of love is that of *agape. Agape* means nothing sentimental or basically affectionate. It means understanding, redeeming good will for all men. It is an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return. It is the love of God working in the lives of men. When we rise to love on the *agape* level, we love men not because we like them, not because their attitudes and ways appeal to us, but because God loves them. Here we rise to the position of loving the *person* who does the evil deed, while hating the *deed* that the person does. With this type of love—understanding good will—we will be able to stand amid the radiant glow of the new age with dignity and discipline. Yes, the new age is coming. It is coming mighty fast.

Now the fact that this new age is emerging reveals something basic about the universe. It tells us something about the core and heartbeat of the cosmos. It reminds us that the universe is one the side of justice. It says to those who struggle for justice, "You do not struggle alone, but God struggles with you." This belief that God is on the side of truth and justice comes down to us from the long tradition of our Christian faith. There is something at the very center of our faith which reminds us that the sorrow of Good Friday may be with us for a day, but ultimately it must give way to the triumph of Easter. Evil may so shape events that Caesar will occupy a palace and Christ a cross, but one day that same Christ will rise up and split history into A.D. and B.C., so that even the life of Caesar must be dated by His name. There is something in this universe that justified Carlyle in saying, "No lie can live forever." There is something in this universe which justified William Cullen Bryant in saying, "Truth crushed to earth will rise again." There is something in this universe that justified James Russell Lowell in saying:

> Truth forever on the scaffold
> Wrong forever on the throne
> Yet that scaffold sways the future
> And behind the dim unknown
> stands God
> Within the shadows keeping
> watch above his own.

And so here in Montgomery, after more than eleven long months, we can walk and never get weary, because we know there is a great camp meeting in the promised land of freedom and justice.

I have talked about the new age which is fast coming into being. I have talked about the fact that God is working in history to bring about this new age. There is the danger, therefore, that after hearing all of this you will go away with the impression that we can go home, sit down and do nothing, waiting for the coming of the inevitable. You

will somehow feel that this new age will roll in on the wheels of inevitability, so there is nothing to do but wait on it. If you get that impression you are the victims of a perilous optimism. We must

speed up the coming of the inevitable.

Now it is true, if I may speak figuratively, that old man segregation is on his deathbed. But history has proven that social systems have a great last-minute breathing power, and the guardians of a *status quo* are always on hand with their oxygen tents to keep the old order alive. Segregation is still a fact in America. We still confront it in the South in its glaring and conspicuous forms. We still confront it in the North in its hidden and subtle forms. But if democracy is to live, segregation must die. Segregation is a glaring evil. It is utterly un-Christian. It relegates the segregated to the status of a thing rather than elevating him to the status of a person. Segregation is nothing but slavery covered up with certain niceties of complexity. Segregation is a blatant denial of the unity which we all have in Christ Jesus.

So we must continue the struggle against segregation in order to speed up the coming of the inevitable. We must continue to gain the ballot. This is one of the basic keys to the solution of our problem. Until we gain political power through possession of the ballot we will be the convenient tools of unscrupulous politicians. We must face the appalling fact that we have been betrayed by both the Democratic and Republican parties. The Democrats have betrayed us by capitulating to the whims and caprices of the Dixiecrats. The Republicans have betrayed us by capitulating to the blatant hypocrisy of right-wing reactionary Northerners. This coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern right-wing Republicans defeats every proposed bill on civil rights. Until we gain the ballot and place proper public officials in office this condition will continue to exist. In communities where we confront difficulties in gaining the ballot, we must use all legal and moral means to remove these difficulties.

Legislation *and* Education

We must continue to struggle through legalism and legislation. There are those who contend that integration can come only through education, for no other reason than that morals cannot be legislated. I choose, however, to be dialectical at this point. It isn't either education or legislation; it is both legislation and education. I quite agree that it is impossible to change a man's internal feelings merely

through law. But this really isn't the intention of the law. The law does not seek to change one's internal feelings; it seeks rather to control the external effects of those internal feelings. For instance, the law cannot make a man love me—religion and education must do that—but it can control his desire to lynch me. So in order to control the external effects of prejudiced internal feelings, we must continue to struggle through legislation.

Money and Leadership

Another thing that we must do in pressing on for integration is to invest our finances in the cause of freedom. Freedom has always been an expensive thing. History is a fit testimony to the fact that freedom is rarely gained without sacrifice and self-denial. So we must donate large sums of money to the cause of freedom. We can no longer complain that we don't have the money. Statistics reveal that the economic life of the Negro is rising to decisive proportions. The annual income of the American Negro is now more than sixteen billion dollars, almost equal to the national income of Canada. So we are gradually becoming economically independent. It would be a tragic indictment of both the self-respect and practical wisdom of the Negro if history reveals that at the height of the twentieth century the Negro spent more for frivolities than for the cause of freedom. We must never let it be said that we spend more for the evanescent and ephemeral than for the eternal values of freedom and justice.

Another thing that we must do in speeding up the coming of the new age is to develop intelligent, courageous and dedicated leadership. This is one of the pressing needs of the hour. In this period of transition and growing social change, there is a dire need for leaders who are calm and yet positive; leaders who avoid the extremes of "hot-headedness" and "Uncle Tomism." The urgency of the hour calls for leaders of wise judgement and sound integrity—leaders not in love with money but in love with justice; leaders not in love with publicity, but in love with humanity; leaders who can subject their particular egos to the greatness of the cause.

To paraphrase Holland's words:

God give us leaders!
A time like this demands strong minds, great hearts,
True faith and ready hands;
Leaders whom the lust of office does not kill;
Leaders whom the spoils of life cannot buy;
Leaders who possess opinions and a will;
Leaders who have honor; leaders who will not lie;
Leaders who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking!
Tall leaders, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and private thinking.

Finally, if we are to speed up the coming of the new age we must have the moral courage to stand up and protest against injustice wherever we find it. Wherever we find segregation we must have the fortitude to passively resist it. I realize that this will mean suffering and sacrifice. It might even mean going to jail. If such is the case, we must be willing to fill up the jailhouses of the South. It

might even mean physical death. But if physical death is the price that some must pay to free their children from a permanent life of psychological death, then nothing could be more honorable. Once more it might well turn out that the blood of the martyrs will be the seed of the tabernacle of freedom.

Someone will ask, How will we face the acts of cruelty and violence that might come as results of our standing up for justice? What will be our defense? Certainly it must not be retaliatory violence. We must find our defense in the amazing power of unity and courage that we have demonstrated in Montgomery. Our defense is to meet every act of violence toward an individual Negro with the fact that there are thousands of others who will present themselves in his place as potential victims. Every time one schoolteacher is fired for standing up courageously for justice, it must be faced with the fact that there are four thousand more to be fired. If the oppressors bomb the home of one Negro for his courage, this must be met with the fact that they must be required to bomb the homes of fifty thousand more Negroes. This dynamic unity, this amazing self-respect, this willingness to suffer, and this refusal to hit back will soon cause the oppressor to become ashamed of his own methods. He will be forced to stand before the world and his God splattered with the blood and reeking with the stench of his Negro brother.

There is nothing in all the world greater than freedom. It is worth paying for; it is worth losing a job for; it is worth going to jail for. I would rather be a free pauper than a rich slave. I would rather die in abject poverty with my convictions than live in inordinate riches with the lack of self-respect. Once more every Negro must be able to cry out with his forefathers: "Before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave and go home to my Father and be saved."

If we will join together in doing all of these things we will be able to speed up the coming of the new world—a new world in which men will live together as brothers; a world in which men will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; a world in which men will no longer take necessities from the masses to give luxuries to the classes; a world in which all men will respect the dignity and worth of all human personality. Then we will be able to sing from the great tradition of our nation:

> "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing! Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrims' pride, from every mountainside, Let freedom ring!"

This must become literally true. Freedom must ring from every mountainside. Yes, let it ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado, from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire, from the mighty Alleghenies of Pennsylvania, from the curvaceous slopes of California. But not only that. Let Freedom ring from every mountainside—from every molehill in Mississippi, from Stone Mountain in Georgia, from Lookout Mountain in Tennessee, yes, and from every hill and mountain in Alabama. From every mountainside—let freedom ring. When this day finally comes, "the morning stars will sing together and the suns of God will shout for joy."

INTEGRATED BUS SUGGESTIONS

Dec. 19, 1956—This is a historic week because segregation on buses has now been declared unconstitutional. Within a few days the Supreme Court Mandate will reach Montgomery and you will be re-boarding **integrated** buses. This places upon us all a tremendous responsibility of maintaining, in face of what could be some unpleasantness, a calm and loving dignity befitting good citizens and members of our race. If there is violence in word or deed it must not be our people who commit it.

For your help and convenience the following suggestions are made. Will you read, study and memorize them so that our nonviolent determination may not be endangered. First, some general suggestions:

1. Not all white people are opposed to integrated buses. Accept goodwill on the part of many.
2. The **whole** bus is now for the use of **all** people. Take a vacant seat.
3. Pray for guidance and commit yourself to **complete** nonviolence in word and action as you enter the bus.
4. Demonstrate the calm dignity of our Montgomery people in your actions.
5. In all things observe ordinary rules of courtesy and good behavior.
6. Remember that this is not a victory for Negroes alone, but for all Montgomery and the South. Do not boast! Do not brag!
7. Be quiet but friendly; proud, but not arrogant; joyous, but not boisterous.
8. Be loving enough to absorb evil and understanding enough to turn an enemy into a friend.

Now for some specific suggestions:

1. The bus driver is in charge of the bus and has been instructed to obey the law. Assume that he will cooperate in helping you occupy any vacant seat.
2. Do not deliberately sit by a white person, unless there is no other seat.
3. In sitting down by a person, white or colored, say "May I" or "Pardon me," as you sit. This is a common courtesy.
4. If cursed, do not curse back. If pushed, do not push back. If struck, do not strike back, but evidence love and goodwill at all times.
5. In case of an incident, talk as little as possible, and always in a quiet tone. Do not get up from your seat! Report all serious incidents to the bus driver.
6. For the first few days try to get on the bus with a friend in whose nonviolence you have confidence. You can uphold one another by a glance or a prayer.
7. If another person is being molested, do not arise to go to his defense, but pray for the oppressor and use moral and spiritual force to carry on the struggle for justice.
8. According to your own ability and personality, do not be afraid to experiment with new and creative techniques for achieving reconciliation and social change.
9. If you feel you cannot take it, walk for another week or two. We have confidence in our people. GOD BLESS YOU ALL.

THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION
THE REV. M. L. KING, JR., PRESIDENT
THE REV. W. J. POWELL, SECRETARY

The Right Way is NOT A Moderate Way

by Lillian Smith

This article was originally read before the annual meeting of the Montgomery Improvement Association, Montgomery Alabama, on December 5, 1956. **Lillian Smith** is well known as the author of **Strange Fruit** and **Killers of the Dream.** She is a native Southerner.

I WANT to take my stand by your side, tonight, because I respect the creative means you have chosen to use to secure your legal rights as American citizens.

These means are nonviolent. This way is the way of good will and intelligence and truth, and love. You have refused to use the crude and dangerous weapon of hate. You have refused to lie. You have not succumbed to retaliation or to resentment. You have used no harshness of word or of act.

You have behaved under stress like mature men and women—not like a mob.

But you have not been "moderates" nor have you kept in the middle of the road. No. You have shown the world that there are two extremes and they cannot be put in the same moral category.

There is the extreme of hate, yes; but there is also the extreme of love. There is the extreme of the lie; but there is also the extreme we call the "search for truth." There is the habitual thief who is certainly an extremist; but there is the habitually honest man who is an extremist, also.

Would you place the thief and the honest man in the same moral category? Would you put the per-

son whose life radiates love in the same ethical category with the man whose life radiates hate? Are they equally harmful? or equally good? Those who think so have abandoned the concept of morality and the concept of quality and sanity in human affairs.

So: You have been extremists: good, creative, loving extremists and I want to tell you I admire and respect you for it.

Moderation is the slogan of our times. But moderation never made a man or a nation great. Moderation never mastered ordeal or met a crisis successfully. Moderation never discovered anything; never invented anything; never dreamed a new dream. Moderation never wrote a poem, never built a skyscraper, never discovered a new drug, never made the first airplane, never painted a great picture, never wrote a great play, never explored a new frontier, never discovered new lands, never built a civilization, never dreamed a great religion. These great thrusts of the human imagination and spirit came out of daring to meet ordeal and need in a new way. It would be difficult to imagine Jesus as a "moderate." Difficult to imagine Leonardo da Vinci as a moderate. Imagine Gandhi as a moderate. Imagine Shakespeare or Einstein as a moderate. Imagine the young Lindbergh as a moderate: He may be one now but he was not one when he flew the Atlantic. It was the act of a daring extremist if there ever was such: but it was a creative act: not the act of a destroyer, nor the act of a hating man, nor the act of a violent man.

You have done many good things, down here in Montgomery. But one of the best, one of the most valuable, has been the fact that you have dramatized, for all America to see, that *in times of ordeal, in times of crisis,* only the extremist can meet the challenge. The question in crisis or ordeal is not: Are you going to be an extremist? The question is: *What kind of extremist* are you going to be?

The Montgomery Extreme

Here, in Montgomery, you have decided what kind of extremist you are. You have chosen the way of love and truth, the way of nonviolence and understanding, the way to patience with firmness, the way of dignity and calm persistence.

You have done this as others keep talking about moderation.

What do people mean when they use that fuzzy word, moderation? Why do the mass magazines keep talking about it? What makes the word so hypnotic? To answer that, we would have to write a history of the psychology of our times. But we can, at least, take a quick look at it.

In doing so, let's be as fair as we can: Many mean simply this: "We want to freeze things; we want to be neutral; we don't want to move a step either way. Things suit us as they are: why should we change them? Change is painful; so let's don't change." There are others, a few men of good will but with only a moderate amount of brains, who intend no harm at all when they lean back on this slogan. They mean in a vague way: "Let's be tactful; let's talk in a quiet voice; let's don't stir things up; let's try to sleep through it; then, maybe, someday we'll wake up and find that everything has settled itself." And there are a few sincere, even

intelligent people who want "moderation" because the word, to them, means safety and security. They are too frightened to move or to think; too frightened to search for a new way to meet the challenge. It is known by all of us that our minds don't work well if we become too frightened, although they work best of all when we are a little frightened.

People behave this way in other crises, too; not simply in this one of race relations. There are people who react in a similar way when they are told they have cancer. They decide to be moderate and do nothing; to rock along and postpone thinking about it. Why? Because they are scared. And, because of their fright, they convince themselves that if they do nothing, or if they take a few vitamins, the cancer will go away.

The tragic fact is, neither cancer nor segregation will go away while we close our eyes. Both are dangerous diseases that have to be handled quickly and skillfully because they spread, they metastacise throughout the organism. We have seen this happen, too often, to people who have delayed doing anything about cancer. We have also seen sick race relations metastacise throughout our country—and indeed, throughout the whole earth.

Because of the nature of both diseases—one physical, one social—because you cannot wall these problems in, you don't have time to lose with cancer, nor do we have time to lose in facing up to segregation, since the Supreme Court has spoken. The critical moment is on us. *Now is the time* to deal with it.

Why is there a crisis now? Why, after fifty years of segregation, has this way of life arrived at a critical turn?

As I see it, this is why:

The Supreme Court is the highest legal authority in our land. This Court interprets the U.S. Constitution for us. We are free men, yes; but we are not free in this country ruled by law, to interpret the law for ourselves, as Herman Talmadge says he does. We have a freedom *controlled by law;* we do not live in a state of anarchy. Because this is true, when the Supreme Court speaks, we must obey. The Supreme Court has now spoken. It has said, Segregation in the public schools must go because it is unconstitutional. The Supreme Court has said in effect that all legal segregation must go. Now: we are faced with a crisis.

Defiance Brought Crisis

But to say the Supreme Court's decision precipitated the crisis is only half a truth. It spoke its clear decision. The actual crisis came upon us because we did not listen. The ordeal became severe when the official leaders of our Southern states spoke out defiantly and said they would not obey the Supreme Court's decision. After the Supreme Court spoke, it became irrelevant from the point of view of obedience to law, whether one did or did not want integration. The relevant matter was obedience to law. But these political leaders, many governors, many attorneys-general, many United States Senators, defied the Supreme Court and began to try to force us to defy the Supreme Court (whether we wanted to or not). And in defying the highest law of our land and in compelling the citizens to do so, these politicians started a revolu-

tion against the legal structure on which our free and democratic government is based.

This is how the ordeal we are faced with, today, started. This is the situation we must now deal with: a very different situation from that of three years ago.

Three years ago, we had segregation. And it was the same old un-Christian, undemocratic way of life we had had for fifty years and have now; and people, colored and white, were harmed by it, as they are now being harmed. But the Supreme Court had not then challenged these old segregation statutes. Now: the situation is different. Different because segregation

is against the law of our Nation. Different because, to maintain it, we must defy our own government.

How we deal with this critical situation, how we face up to it, will determine our moral health as individuals, our cultural health as a region, our political health as a nation; and our prestige as a leader of democratic forces throughout the world.

You know, as does everybody, how the destructive extremists are dealing with it in the South, and in the North. We are all aware of the mobs, of the Citizens Councils, of the Ku Klux Klans, of the quiet, stealthy injuries inflicted on those who want to obey their Nation's laws. But how are the rest of the white Southerners dealing with it? May I trouble the waters, a little, by telling you?

A few white Southerners—perhaps far more than you know—are dealing with it creatively and honestly and with courage. There are many white Southerners opposed to segregation; there are millions who are not opposed to segregation but who believe it is more important to obey the law of the land than it is to have racial segregation. Some of these are speaking out: in the pulpits, in editorials. Others are meeting in small groups and probing deeply into this trouble in order to try to understand its roots. Others are taking, here and there, a bold stand. And some of these are losing their jobs, of course. But they think it is a small price to pay. They are the creative, nonviolent "extremists" who are quietly, with wisdom and

tact and good will, trying to bring change about as quickly as possible. They are attempting to meet ordeal with bold imagination, with skill and daring, but with sense and nonviolence and sympathy for all concerned.

How about the others? The moderates? Those who are neither good extremists nor bad extremists? How about them?

Moral Paralysis

Most of these so-called "moderates" are doing nothing. That does not mean they are not worried. It means they are suffering from temporary moral and psychic paralysis. They are working harder to be moderates than they are working to meet the crisis. They are driving straight down the middle of the road with their eyes shut and you know what happens in traffic when you do that. But they are trying to believe there is no traffic. They are telling themselves nobody is on the road but themselves. They are, you see, trying very hard *not to be extremists:* to be neither good nor evil.

And all the time these moderates are doing nothing or almost nothing, men like Herman Talmadge, men like Senator Eastland are shouting at the top of their voices; and certain newspaper editors are writing violently against the good extremists and begging everybody to freeze and do nothing; and many of our mass magazines are belittling the good extremists and shouting that the "only way is the moderate way." . . . And as they beg the millions to be "moderate," the mobs gather, and the crosses are burned, and the houses are dynamited, and the brave ones who speak out lose their jobs and nobody cares much, and the few Southern writers who speak out against segregation are penalized and nobody cares much, and young preachers lose their pulpits and nobody cares much; and so it goes, on and on. . . . the White Citizens Councils mushroom, the Klan wakes up and wraps itself in pillow case and sheet and Negroes and whites working for integration are threatened and penalized.

But the big middle group turn away and try not to see, whispering, "I must above all be moderate; I must not get worried; I must not mind when innocent people are hurt and brave people lose their jobs and lives. Some day it will all settle itself, somehow."

And how are these moderates faring? What kind of price are *they* paying for their moderation, for this desire of theirs to keep things as they are?

It is a hidden price; it is not yet too obvious; but it is a high price.

In order to maintain the status quo, to maintain segregation as long as possible even though the Supreme Court has spoken, in order to drive in the middle of the road, the white people of the South are giving up their freedoms. What freedoms?

Let me name a few:

a. *The freedom to do right.* There are white Christians in the South who know segregation is morally wrong. They want to do right. But they are not free to do right. Every day they do what they know in their hearts is contrary to their Christian beliefs.

b. *The freedom to obey the law.* The Supreme Court has spoken. But the law-abiding people in the South are not, at present, free to obey the law. Instead, we obey our dictators: these are sometimes our governors; sometimes they are our

business employers, or our Board of Regents, or our school superintendents, or our Boards of Trustees of the churches.

c. *The freedom to speak out, to write, to teach what one believes is true and just.* We have almost lost this basic freedom now in the South. Teachers are compelled to sign statements that virtually strip them of their freedom to believe and to speak out. Penalties are imposed on those who speak out, anyway; jobs are lost.

d. And, having lost those three big freedoms, the precious ones that we Americans say we cherish, *we are also losing our freedom from fear*

In old Reconstruction days, white people were afraid of freed Negroes, or so they said. Today, they are afraid of each other and themselves. They fear. Front-door friends become back-door friends; some fear to be seen with a white Southerner who wants to obey the law of our land. Students on campuses are afraid to ask a Southerner who believes segregation is evil to come speak to them because of the Board of Regents, because of what members of the faculty might say. And is this fear restricted to the South? Not at all: Magazines with mass circulation are timid about "offending the white segregationists" they fear, also. And this is very sad: to see our people, our proud, free people grow afraid to speak out and to act, according to their conscience.

Young brave men say "the risk is too great. I'd like to do something but the risk is too big."

I say this: "The time has now come when it is dangerous not to risk. We must take calculated risks in order to save our integrity, our moral nature, our lives, and all that is rich and creative in our culture. We must do what we do with love and dignity, with nonviolence and wisdom, but we must do something big and imaginative and keep doing it until we master our ordeal."

I was talking, not long ago, to a group of students in one of our white Southern universities. They had kind of sneaked me in. Yes, really. They were a little afraid for people to know Lillian Smith was on the campus. So everything was hush-hush. I teased them a little, because of its absurdity. And they laughed, and I laughed. But we all felt ashamed.

The Loss of Courage

Not only the loss of our freedom but the loss of our old gallant courage is part of the high price we are paying today for our do-nothing attitude toward segregation. For while the moderates are staying silent, the bad extremists are shouting at the top of their lungs. And because it is so difficult for the young white Southerner to hear anything good and creative said, because he sees so little courage, so little valor among his elders, he is losing his beliefs in the good, creative, brave way of life. One young man said to me recently, "I'd risk anything for something I believed in. I just don't think I believe in anything much, anymore."

Then I told these young people

about your creative project in Montgomery. They had heard a little, of course. But they listened, these young white men and girls, and they grew excited and interested and thrilled.

Fruits of the Creative Act

Do you, here in Montgomery, realize that in helping yourselves to secure your freedom you are helping young white Southerners secure theirs, too? This is a big thing. This is how the creative act works: it always helps somebody else besides you.

In dramatizing that the extreme way can be the good way, the creative way, and that in times of ordeal it is the only way, you are helping the white South find its way, too. You are giving young white Southerners hope. You are persuading some of them that there is something worth believing in and risking for. You are stirring their imaginations and their hearts —not simply because you are brave and running risks but because you know that the *means we use* are the important thing: the means must be right; the means must be full of truth and dignity and love and wisdom.

Because you are doing this, I want to close my greeting to you by saying, Thank you. Thank you for what you are doing for yourselves and what you are doing also for the entire South. Thank you for dramatizing before the eyes of America that the question is not, "Are you an extremist?" but "What kind of extremist are you?" Thank you for showing us all that there is always a creative, good, nonviolent way to meet ordeal.

A CALL TO REPENTANCE

The following statement was issued by a group of 25 white Christian ministers and a Jewish rabbi, in Montgomery, Ala., January 11, following the bombing of four Negro churches and the homes of two leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association:

AS A GROUP of religious leaders of this community, we feel it our sacred duty to issue this statement to our people and to all the citizens of this community:

1. We call upon all citizens to join with us in an act of repentance for the violence done against the homes of some of our citizens, against houses of God, against peace, order and good will of our community.

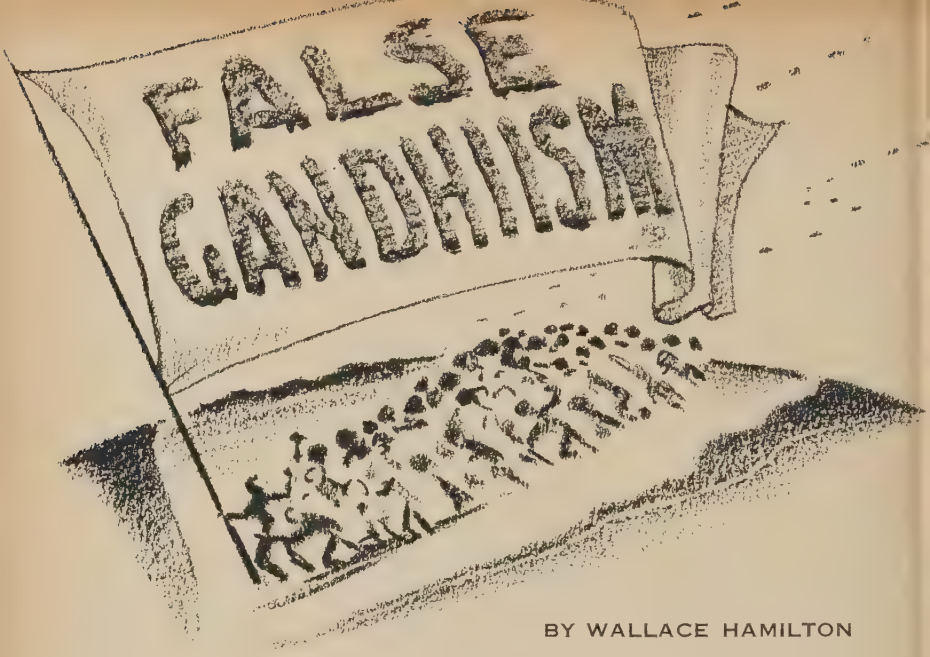
Whatever our differences of opinion may be we cannot remain silent and allow our community to lapse into the barbarity of terrorism and intimidation.

2. We call upon you to offer fervent thanks to Almighty God that none were injured in the bombings of January 10, and to pray both publicly and privately that by His grace, we may be guided into the ways of righteousness and peace.

3. We call upon the God-fearing people of Montgomery to highly resolve that violence must not be allowed to continue and that law and order must be maintained in our midst.

The Montgomery **Advertiser** printed this statement and in a strongly worded editorial called for enough police protection so that "outlaws will desist or be run down."

"The issue," concluded the newspaper, "is not segregation. The issue is whether it is safe to live in Montgomery."



BY WALLACE HAMILTON

A PHOTOGRAPH was published recently in *The New York Times* showing Pandit Nehru looking worried, with Khrishna Menon beside him, brooding. Behind the two men was a life-sized portrait in a gilt frame heavy and ornate enough to do pustice to a portrait of a viceroy of India in full regalia. The painting enclosed in the frame, however, was one of Mohandas K. Gandhi, wearing only his dhoti, sandals, and a pleasant grin.

Perhaps it has been the hope of the present political leaders of India that once Gandhi was properly enshrined in an oil portrait, and properly fenced in with a gilt frame, he would stay put, and let others go about the business of government. Yet nearly a decade after his death, Gandhi's teachings seem to have inspired a sporadic miscellany of strikes, demonstrations, riots, curfews, and parades that are almost as much of a nuisance to the government of independent India as they were to the British Colonial Office.

Since this Gandhian protest is directed against a government that is recognizably democratic, and whose stability is important to American foreign policy, American commentators have found these episodes of rebellion quite as disturbing as Indian government officials. A. M. Rosenthal writes in *The New York Times* that the Indian rebels "had tools at hand which they ignored, or which they were too impatient to use—tools of the parlimentary system." *Time* Magazine quotes an Indian professor as saying that "the university [in India] today has become a nursery for anarchistic values."

Protest, it seems, is a bad habit that the Indians picked up, while pushing the British out of India. Now that the mission has been accomplished, protest should be contained, as Gandhi's portrait is contained, in a proper framework.

But in fact the mission of Gandhian protest will never be contained. Governments—not just the British Colonial Office but *all* governments—have never had such an enemy as Mohandas Gandhi. His life work was a testament to the proposition that not just democracies but all governments rule by consent of the governed. Withholding that consent, most effectively by nonviolence, is the substance of revolution.

Disposing of the current unrest in India as a sort of large-scale teen-age delinquency, false to Gandhian principles, or as "an unforeseeable end" of the Indian independence movement therefore seems a questionable interpretation. Rosenthal hits closer when he reports that "in a day-to-day way, India is living its history." The unrest is a continuum, distorted by irresponsibility, perverted by violence, but a continuum revealing in day-to-day events more of the nature of Gandhian protest.

To those of us in the Occident, who generally manage to construct governments to which we feel we can give consent and who generally acknowledge government as the least objectionable way to cope with human perversity, latter-day Gandhian protest—uncontrolled mobs swarming around in dusty streets—is a very unpleasant and disturbing development. What if Nehru should fall and the Communists move in . . .? And beneath that foreboding is a more fundamental fear—that Gandhian protest threatens not only the Indian government, not only proper Western ideas of "law and order," but the social form itself. Before a mob, before even a single noncooperating individual, property, status, authority, the great adhesives in the body politic, lose binding quality. Form grows pulpy; the components of form granulate; metabolism, the dynamic interplay and balance of mutual dependence, falters.

Fear of the loss of form in politics is not particularly acute these days in the United States. The Constitution has proved itself a remarkably resilient document. We live in the assurance that, though he may be the target of pop bottles, the umpire is always at the ball game. Perhaps the last great symbol of the assertion of form in American life was the Western sheriff with the Colt at his hip. But the fear is still there, more than American, more even than human, biological. Form is the characteristic of life itself. A non-cooperating cell is a threat. A mob is considered a cancer.

In view of the enshrinement that has been given to Gandhi, both in India and here in America, it is difficult to imagine how this saint has exerted so destructive a force on the social organism, breaking down the cellular structure, aggregating new forms only to inspire attacks against those forms. What appeared to be a great aspiration of nonviolence now appears a meaningless flux, undirected and uncontainable.

But the fact is, this latter-day sporadic unrest may be nearer to the true nature of Gandhian protest than we realize.

Seen in historical perspective, the Indian independence movement

was a massive drive toward a single objective: getting the British out of India. The drive was dominated by a single leader who by his massive prestige enforced exceptional discipline. And the drive succeeded in its stated objective. There is a deceptive clean-cut neatness about the whole historical episode. And in addition to saintliness, there was a certain lawyerly precision about Gandhi's leadership and his formulation of *satyagraha.*

But there is no neatness, no precision about the admonition from Nanak in Gandhi's "song from prison": "Turn, trust God, fling from thee all that is less." A haphazard combination of vertical relationships is notoriously difficult to define or even organize in the horizontal terms of political order. And yet it was just those vertical relationships which Gandhi stressed above all others, verticals that gave the independence movement such peculiar and exasperating strength. Like certain microscopic colonies of marine life, the cells could act as an interdependent unit or, as circumstances warranted, free-floating individual components, operating by what the organized political mind might call "anarchistic values."

All of which makes for chaotic politics, groupings and regroupings, pressures and outbreaks, alarms and dissents, retreats and repressions. Some of the politics of protest is undoubtedly justified. (*Time* Magazine points out that a third of the students of Calcutta University came from families earning less than six dollars a month.) Other outbursts are probably nonsensical catharsis which soon dies of its own absurdity.

The point is not the particular cause, but the means. All over India, there appears to be an exploration of the possibilities of Gandhian protest, a probing of technics, an expansion of vocabulary, a testing of limits. And this exploration is probably all the more significant in that it has no single objective, and no single dominating leadership. Like most such exploratory processes, it is messy. But it may prove to be a very fruitful mess, out of which may come a body of experience that has immense world-wide significance.

Assuming for the moment that we don't blow up the planet, we may then have to cope with a situation that has most recently shown itself in Hungary and Suez —the concentration of sheer physical force, tanks, planes, troops, in a few centers of established power dedicated to the status quo. Confronted with this force, as the Hungarians have been confronted with it, those who would change the status quo are going to have to perfect the instruments and methods of withholding consent from the status quo without meeting, and being defeated by the established power on its own physical terms.

So the Hungarians turned to the general strike. So the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, turned to the car pool during the bus boycott. So any group in any present-day society may need a politics of protest that has some chance of success in the face of that stultification of living political form, overwhelming suppressive force.

The fevered expressions of protest now used at Ahmadabad Patna, and Calcutta may someday be used to advance human freedom in Kharkov, or Munich, or Chicago.

Atlanta Conference Meets Amid Upsurge of Racist Terror

As white supremacist violence flared in city after city last month in the Deep South, 100 leaders of the nonviolent desegregation movement met in Atlanta, Ga., January 8-10 by invitation of Martin Luther King, Jr., to discuss strategy.

Among those attending the conference were FOR National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley and virtually every well-known nonviolent leader in the South, including Abernathy, Borders, Branch, King, McCollum, Moore, Seay, Shealey, Shuttlesworth, Speed, Steele, and Ware—among them many whose homes, churches or places of business were bombed last month.

The conference discussed such concrete matters as the training of leaders, the makeup of a typical nonviolent community organization, and approaches to the press, radio and television. Despite the determined (and apparently coordinated) efforts to terrorize them, the conference members set up a continuing committee to call a future conference with even wider representation.

The conference concluded with a statement to the press, signed by 25 Negro and white Southerners, both clergy and laymen. An abridged text of the statement follows:

"The increasing violence in such cities as Birmingham, Tallahassee, Montgomery and at Koinonia Farms in Americus, Georgia, has led us to believe that a deep spiritual vacuum exists in the white community of the South today. In this hour of great spiritual travail we appeal to the white ministers of the South to utilize all their spiritual resources to the end that the spirit of our Lord might be brought to the solution of these acute problems.

"We applaud the valiant efforts of white clergymen, exemplified by the minister in Clinton, Tenn., to express a moral authority to counter violence and lawlessness. We appeal to the white clergy to initiate such acts of reconciliation in these troubled areas as will mend the deep cleavages between the people. We are deeply concerned about the moral responsibility of Christian leaders and officials in the face of the wanton destruction of Churches, homes, and the assaults on persons. We appeal to the ministers of other communities to assert their leadership now to the end that the conditions of justice and a climate of love will be so present that it will preclude that violence in their communities.

"We unite in prayer and penitence with people of goodwill everywhere that God may heal our broken communities."

Montgomery Officials Yield To Racist Terrorism

In Montgomery, Ala., last month, city authorities repeatedly curtailed or suspended bus service in the wake of sporadic outbreaks of anti-Negro violence, including the dynamite bombing of the homes of two leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Assn.: the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy and the Rev. Robert Graetz. Also bombed were four Negro churches. In all cases, considerable damage was reported, but miraculously no persons have been injured in the latest attacks, at this writing.

Forces of law and order have questioned no suspects, made no arrests. Not every white voice was silent, however (see "A Call to Repentance," p. 19 of this issue).

Elsewhere in the Deep South a similar pattern was emerging. In Birmingham, the home of integrationist leader F. L. Shuttlesworth was demolished and several persons injured. In Montgomery earlier a pregnant Negro woman was hospitalized when she was wounded in the legs by bullets fired into a bus. In Mobile an explosion damaged one Negro's home and police said that attempts had been made to bomb two others. Three crosses were burned there. Alabama Governor James E. Folsom has offered a reward of $2,000 for the arrest and conviction of the bomb-throwers.

As FELLOWSHIP went to press, the campaign for desegregated bus service had spread to Atlanta, following closely after the Conference, with the arrest of six Negro ministers for sitting in the "white" section of a bus. Also as FELLOWSHIP went to press, there were no reports of any retaliatory violence by the harassed Negroes. They continued to stand firm in the program of nonviolence that has characterized their movement since the first steps were taken in Montgomery and Tallahassee months ago.

Report on South Featured at EC Meeting

A report on developments in the South and the FOR's role in them was a feature of a well-attended meeting of the FOR Executive Committee January 7 in New York. National Field Secretary Glenn Smiley, who gave the report, left the meeting early to fly to Atlanta for the FOR-sponsored "strategy conference" of Negro and white leaders in that city. Leaders in the bus integration movements in Alabama and Florida have given considerable credit to FOR help in the effort to keep the movements nonviolent.

The Committee discussed also staff proposals for getting aid to Negro churches and ministers that have suffered as a result of their participation in the anti-segregation struggle. Two committees were named to follow up on the proposals.

The Committee also heard reports from the staff concerning membership and finances. Letters sent to "inactive" members during October and November have so far resulted in the reinstatement of more than 350 individuals, while close to a hundred new members have been added to the rolls as a result of an enclosure in the November "end-of-the-year" finance appeal. December contributions, largely the result of the appeal,

were a little more than $19,000, almost $4,000 short of the amount budgeted for that month. It was pointed out that, while contributions for the first eight months of the fiscal year had almost exactly come up to budget, giving will have to continue at a high level for the remaining four months if a deficit is to be avoided.

Discussions of regional operations, a decision to send a staff member to testify before Congress on the Eisenhower proposals in the Middle East, and a report on transfer of the national office to the new peace center in Nyack, N. Y., completed the meeting.

14 Groups to Produce Film On COs for HS Youth

Some 30 representatives from 14 organizations met in Chicago on November 14, 1956, to form a motion picture committee which will produce one or more films dealing with conscientious objection to military service. The FOR is one of the participating groups.

The film's principal aim will be to meet the questions of young men just reaching draft age. It is believed that there is a widespread need for such a film among churches, high schools and community organizations, since there is already voluminous information available to tell young men about opportunities in the various branches of the armed forces. Some suggested channels of distribution were: denominational film libraries, local Councils of Churches, public libraries.

The meeting, which after 5 hours of discussion voted unanimously to proceed with the project, agreed that the film would give major emphasis to the I-O and I-W positions, with minor reference to the I-A-O and nonregistrant positions.

White House Rejects War Crimes Prisoners Appeal

On December 17, T. T. Brumbaugh and John Nevin Sayre had interviews with various government officials in their attempt to secure the release of 91 Japanese war crimes prisoners.

The interviews came as a follow-up on a letter to the President signed by 32 well-known churchmen urging a Christmas amnesty for the 91 prisoners. Earlier, the National Council of Churches had submitted a similar request.

Both letters pointed out that, as of January 1, 1957, the United States and Australia are the only countries which continue to hold Japanese war crimes prisoners.

The Washington interviews, in which Brumbaugh and Sayre represented the 32 clergymen-petitioners, were with the Inter-Departmental Clemency and Parole Board and the Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

The much-publicized war crimes trials of Japanese and Germans, with convictions by courts of the victorious nations, were not paralleled by international trials of military personnel of the U.S. or any other victor nation, although it is common knowledge that the committing of atrocities was not an enemy monopoly. Accordingly, the trials by which the Japanese war criminals were convicted bear the stamp of vengeance inflicted upon the defeated. "Continued imprisonment of the Japanese and German war criminals," said Sayre,

"gives a picture to the world of Japanese and German guilt." This is naturally a source of strong resentment among the people and governments of the defeated countries.

Sayre reported that continued representations are being made to the White House, and emphasized that letters to the President should be written by all concerned persons, urging that the time has come when America should forgive the last of the war crimes prisoners it is holding.

Mennonite COs Convicted For Refusing Civilian Work

In Federal Court at Philadelphia during the first two weeks of December 1956, five Mennonite COs from Lancaster County, Pa., were found guilty of violation of the Selective Service Act.

The five COs, Ray Stauffer Bauman, Isaac M. Burkholder, Aaron N. Holt, Aaron W. Hoover and Levi M. Martin, were all sentenced for failure to report for induction for civilian alternative service work. Perhaps the most eloquent defense was presented by Hoover, who stated that although the CO provisions in the draft law were satisfactory to many men's consciences, his own required complete exemption from "serving a master other than God."

White House Refuses World War II CO Amnesty

On December 4, 1956, presidential aide Sherman Adams reiterated a 1954 statement on amnesty for World War II conscientious objectors: "The President cannot grant any blanket amnesty to violators of the Selective Service Act at this time."

If granted, such amnesty would restore to some 6,000 conscientious objectors the right to vote, to sit on juries and to hold public office. To date, only 1,523 such persons have been pardoned.

Supporting his statement, Adams referred to a letter issued in 1954 by Presidential Assistant Maxwell M. Rabb, which said, in effect, that at a time when the United States was building up its military power against the threat of "internal and external enemies," it would be "both inconsistent and unwise" to pardon those who have "set themselves up as wiser and more competent than society to determine their duty to come to the defense of the Nation."

The 1956 statement followed three days after a poster walk was conducted in front of the White House, urging amnesty.

Jones Sees Closer U.S.-India Relations

On December 24 in Washington, FOR Advisory Council Member E. Stanley Jones said that Prime Minister Nehru's recent visit to the United States has done much to promote better relations between this country and India. Dr. Jones, recently returned from an extensive evangelism campaign in India, said that the people there, having seen the success of their technique of nonviolence in winning independence, feel that they have a mission to bring peace to the world.

"The United States," said Dr Jones, "by its bold position in condemning Britain's action in

landing troops at Suez, has now freed itself from the taint of colonialism in the eyes of the Indian people."

Addressing a Washington congregation that included members of the Indian embassy staff, Dr. Jones pointed to the contest between Communist China and democratic India for leadership in Asia, and called upon the United States to apply in its foreign policy the principle of "liberty and justice for all."

Meet Communist Threat With Christianity, Says Rutenber

Christians should respond to the threat of Communism not with fear but with renewed initiative and courage, according to Dr. Culbert G. Rutenber, well-known FOR member and author of pacifist theological books.

Speaking before the Southern Baptist Student World Missions Congress in Nashville, Tenn., on December 28, Rutenber said that Communism's major appeal for underprivileged peoples is its emphasis on change, capitalizing on the yearning of these peoples for better living conditions.

Christianity, said Rutenber, has a big opportunity to change things through its gospel of "redeeming the world and reunifying man and God." The teachings and example of Christ, he added, must serve today to stimulate Christians to outmatch the Communists in determination and zeal.

The Congress was the first large-scale Southern Baptist student meeting since 1938, with 2,360 students from 25 states attending.

Emily Greene Balch Marks 90th Birthday

Last month Emily Greene Balch stood at the pinnacle of a long, rich life. An FOR member for forty years, Miss Balch on January 8 marked her ninetieth birthday. A tireless worker for peace, she joined with Jane Addams in 1915 to found the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and was an early champion of the League of Nations and the United Nations, though not without valuable criticisms of these international bodies.

A winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Emily Balch was once described by John Dewey as "one of the first private citizens of the world," and last year Ralph Bunche said: "We of this world are all better off because of you." Among the many people who paid tribute to her on the occasion of her ninetieth birthday was John Nevin Sayre, American Secretary of the IFOR, who tendered her an appreciation for "lifting high the peace torch." Congratulations were also sent by the FOR National Council.

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You may be just the person FELLOWSHIP is looking for to fill the position of assistant editor. Salary is modest but psychic rewards compensate. Position will be open on March 1. Applicant must be of professional caliber, pacifist convictions, able to relocate or commute to Nyack, N. Y. Write: Box E, FELLOWSHIP, Nyack, N. Y., and enclose résumé.

Pope Bars CO Position In A Defensive War

In his annual Christmas message, Pope Pius XII declared that no Catholic can refuse to serve in a defensive war against "an enemy determined to impose on all peoples . . . a special and intolerable way of life."

Although urging stronger United Nations efforts to preserve peace, the Roman Catholic pontiff stated that "war—for effective self-defense and with the hope of a favorable outcome against unjust attack—could not be considered unlawful.

"If, therefore, a body representative of the people and a government—both having been chosen by free election—in a moment of extreme danger decide . . . on defensive precautions, and carry out the plans which they consider necessary, they do not act immorally; so that a Catholic citizen cannot invoke his own conscience in order to refuse to serve and fulfill those duties the law imposes."

The pope's message clearly gives freely elected governments *carte blanche* to decide such matters in practical terms, and apparently serves notice on Roman Catholic objectors to war that they will have to find their spiritual sustenance without the Church.

FOR Member Elected A Methodist Bishop

The Rev. Hobart Bauman Amstutz, long-time FOR member, was elected a bishop of the Methodist Church at the Southeast Asia Central Conference held last August in Singapore. News of the event reached FELLOWSHIP belatedly. Bishop Amstutz and his wife have served in Malaya since 1926 as missionaries, and the Bishop himself was imprisoned for three and a half years under the Japanese occupation during World War II.

Texas Church Council Asks Support for Integration

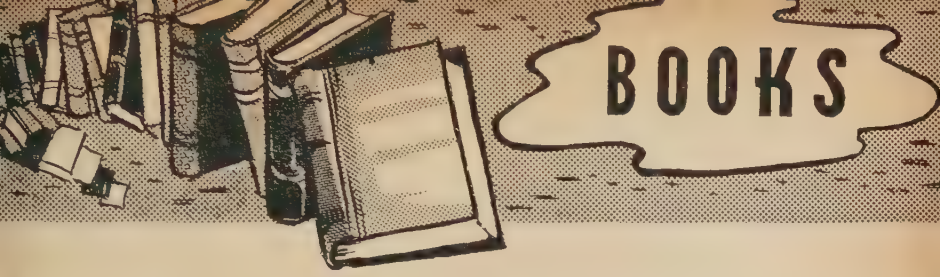
The Texas Council of Churches, at its annual meeting in Houston last month, urged the state legislature not to "circumvent the decisions dealing with desegregation in the public schools."

One delegate, the Rev. Paul Seastrand, pastor of Augustana Lutheran church—reportedly the only integrated church in Houston—underlined the Council's stand in these words: "Integration is not a problem to get around but a challenge to accept."

Survival Demands Coexistence, Says Blake

Anyone who refuses to accept the idea of coexistence between Russia and the West is "asking for a destruction so widespread that civilization itself will be wiped out," said Dr. Eugene Carson Blake in Washington last month.

Dr. Blake, president of the National Council of Churches, also cautioned against materialistic smugness, emphasizing that "from the Christian point of view it is not the material success of our system but its spiritual values that are more important."



Slavery As It Was

Goodbye to Uncle Tom by J. C. Furnas. William Sloan Associates. 1956. 435 pp. $6.

In the volume under review, Mr. Furnas has set out to show that Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe was ill-informed regarding the actualities of the slavery she attacked in *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* that this misinformation extended to her conception of the victims whom she apparently wished to help, and that her ignorance has played no small part in perpetuating American and European stereotypes regarding Negroes in America.

Mr. Furnas' strictures regarding Mrs. Stowe's ignorance of slavery as it actually existed—or at least her failure to give a comprehensive and valid picture of slavery as it existed—are well-taken. Her celebrated work would certainly not qualify as a serious study of the plantation South. One might, in justice to the lady, however, point out that novels, and cause-novels in particular, are not expected to deal with *typical* situations and characters. In setting the record straight, however, Furnas gives us one of the best popular surveys of slavery as it was that it has been my privilege to read.

It is true that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is filled with such unfortunate (and usually unstated) assumptions as the natural superiority of whites over Negroes and the correlative notion that slaves with some white ancestry are superior (and more pathetic) than their blacker brothers. It is also a simple statement of fact that Mrs. Stowe was sympathetic to the Colonization Movement, with its notion that the resolution of the problem of Negroes in America lay in "returning" them to Africa. Her judgment regarding racial inequality merely showed her as a creature of her time. Only the "absolutists" of her time held to contrary opinions; and it must be admitted that the superficial evidence of the time was against them.

I am quite unconvinced that Mrs. Stowe's misconceptions regarding Negroes in the United States played any significant role in perpetuating racist thinking. It is quite likely that the "Tom Shows," *i.e.,* the many plays and carnivals that purported to be dramatizations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* did play a great part in implanting, confirming and perpetuating stereotypes about Negroes. But, as Furnas points out, these were not only unauthorized by Mrs. Stowe, but were opposed by her.

Oncletomerie, as the author calls it, is really but the stepping-off point for *Goodbye to Uncle Tom.* It is, in turn, a study of the "Tom Shows," and an extended review of the literature on the genetic, morphological, and mental char-

acteristics of the American Negro. The work reflects wide and careful reading and, more important, it reflects the work of a sensitive, critical, and humane person.

—Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.

Self-Transcendence

The Self Beyond Yourself. By Richard B. Gregg. Macmillan. 1956. $3.75.

Richard Gregg's new book is an unusually direct and forceful survey of the spiritual life, concerned with a practical technique of meditation leading to contemplation.

Simple and unassuming in its style, the book draws upon the insights of all the great world religions to provide a context for the central theme of the book, which is the nature of the self and the process of transcending it. Building patiently from explicit assumptions, Gregg carries the reader in friendly conversation into such fundamental subjects as the nature of opposites, the nature of the self and the meaning of transcendence. He asserts that self-transcendence is possible here and now and spells out the need for "yea-saying" and "nay-saying" if we are to fulfill the supreme aim of man, "the full knowledge of and union with ultimate reality."

Pacifists will find his listing of the practical social benefits of meditation especially interesting. These are found in his chapter entitled "Our Compass and Guide for Civilization." This is a down-to-earth argument for the utility of the contemplative life for at least a minimum number of people in a given civilization. Among the valuable results of a steady practice of meditation he lists: The understanding and conviction of unity which dissolves the sense of separateness and divisive emotion, the solution of inner conflicts, the improvement of our moral relations, a tendency to right action, and physical as well as moral and spiritual security.

It is impossible to mention the many auxiliary subjects which fill the pages of this book with constant stimulation. The new meanings Gregg gives to many of the teachings of Jesus, his illuminating references to the latest thinking of modern physics, and his discussion of myth and symbol are execptional in themselves.

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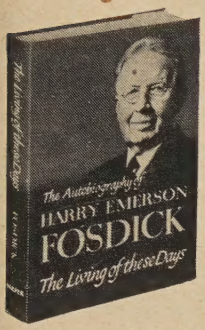

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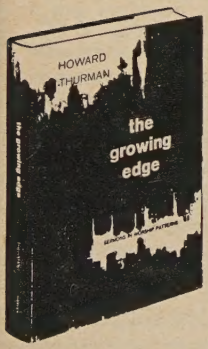
"In my judgment, no one in the twentieth century made a greater contribution to the Protestant Christian Church than did Harry Emerson Fosdick. Now to have his personal account concerning those days is profoundly satisfying."—CLARENCE SEIDENSPINNER $4



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—ROBERT GUSSNER

pamphlet reviews

• *Where Are We Now?* By A. J. Muste. 16 pp. 15¢. Order from: *Liberation,* 110 Christopher St., N. Y. 14, N. Y.

A long-time observer of radical politics assesses the Khrushchev line, as laid down at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and does valuable spadework in suggesting how American radicals should react to it. An important document in the Third Camp literature.

• *Freedom for Cyprus.* By Christopher Lake. 15 pp. 15¢. Order from: *Peace News,* 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass.

Nearly half of this pamphlet comprises as foreword and an introduction, respectively, by Phidias G. Dukaris and Reginald Reynolds. Throughout, however, the case is presented for the release of Archbishop Makarios and immediate granting of self-determination to the Cypriots. The duplicity of the British government in its efforts to stave off self-rule in Cyprus is presented concisely by these British writers.

• *The Church as Peacemaker in the World Today.* By John Nevin Sayre. 14 pp. free. Order from: Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, 9 E. 94 St., N. Y. 28, N. Y.

Much ground is rapidly covered in small space here. Dr. Sayre cites notable incidents of the pacifist witness, from Cyprian and Tertullian to Wilhelm Mensching, and calls upon the Christian Church to accept its God-given mandate for pacifism. This pamphlet was originally preached as a sermon in the Washington Cathedral on September 25, 1955. A cogent presentation by an experienced and thoughtful minister.

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Brotherhood knows no season

On many calendars, February is Brotherhood Month. In the pages of Fellowship, it's Brotherhood Month too—as it is every month, in and out of season. Fellowship is not a "race relations" magazine, but it *is* vitally concerned with racial matters as an integral part of its wide-ranging concern for peace in the world based on good human relationships. No Johnny-come-lately to the race relations scene, Fellowship's concern dates from the year of its birth. From that time to the present it has published such articles as the following (and many more, besides articles and news about racial conflict and brotherhood in Asia and Africa):

Interracial Reconciliation by RAY LONG (May 1935)
The Delta Co-op Farm by SHERWOOD EDDY (May 1936)
The Race Logic of Pacifism by JAMES FARMER (February 1942)
This, Too, Is Harlem by JAMES H. ROBINSON (March 1942)
The Negro and Nonviolence by BAYARD RUSTIN (October 1942)
The Will to Segregation by HOWARD THURMAN (August 1943)
We Say No To Jim Crow by GEORGE HOUSER (April 1945)
The White Christian and His Conscience by LILLIAN SMITH (August 1945)
Jim Crow and the White Press by EARL CONRAD (May 1947)
The Southern Minister and Race by EDWIN L. BROCK (April 1950)
They Came To Grips With Cicero by HOMER A. JACK (December 1951)
Experiment in Black and White by ED MACLEAN (February 1952)
Hope In Mississippi by ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS (May 1956)
Walk for Freedom by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. (May 1956)
Report From Sturgis by ROBERT L. CANNON (November 1956)

The list is virtually endless. Much of it extends into the future. Don't miss out on articles like those above. Get a subscription and be well-informed. Three dollars with your name and address will bring you a year of stimulating reading and news you won't find elsewhere. Do it now, while you're thinking about it.

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